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Auen

000 The Auen, a Contribution to the Study of the Bushmēn
[Die ǂAuin, ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung]

Hans Kaufmann

Berlin: 1910
Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten
Vol. 23, pp. 135-160

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files
1961
[Title page]

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122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

114 After I had spent the months of August, September, and October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 197 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological 141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to 131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The 101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ++, which indicates the click.

Auen

/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300 persons
Dawis	" 150 "
Stampriet	" 250 "
Rooigrauwater	" 50 "
Korikas	" 150 "
Olifantskloof	" 200 "
Habakobis	" 100 "
Rietfontein	" 200 "
Tjumda	" 100 "
Go	" 150 "
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000 "
Karasburg	" 100 "
Epukiro	" 100 "
Ganab	" 100 "
Gam	" 100 "
Total	about 3,000 persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,'000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 [136] As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanticide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

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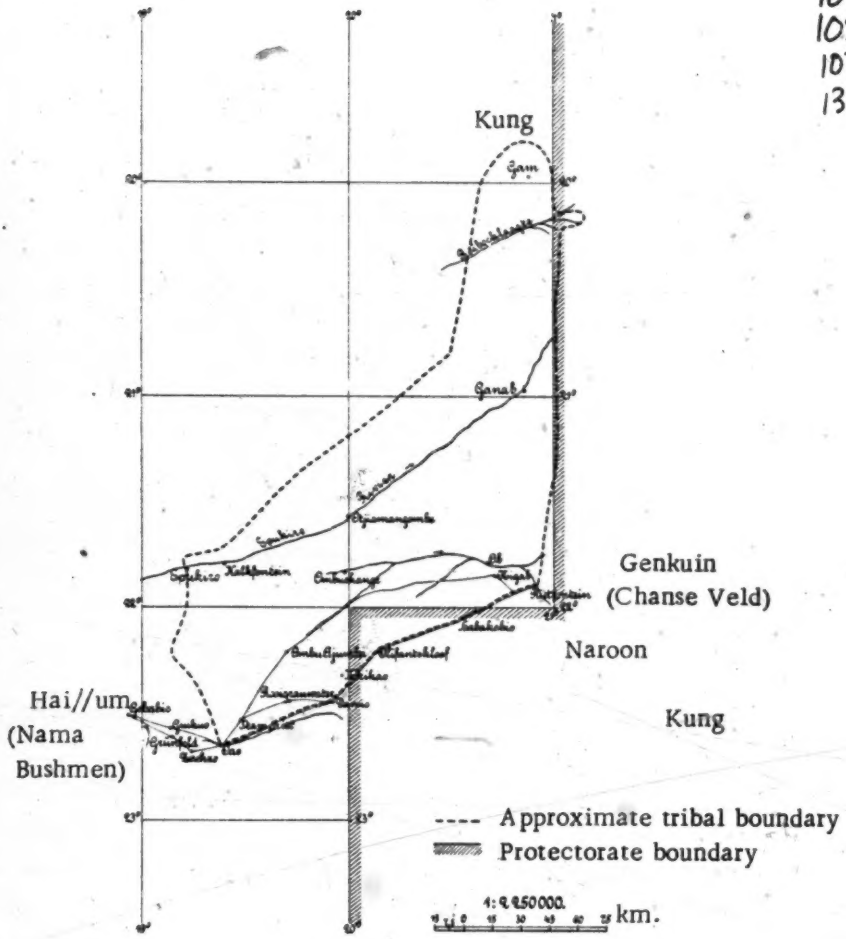

Map of the Auin Region

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/139/

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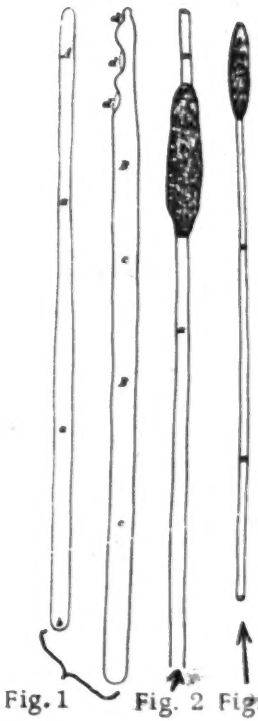

Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

322 415 [439] The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a

415 [321] small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty
[531] ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[412] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick pointed at one end.

301 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
531 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

264 Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morning, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

262 There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten. The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Furthermore, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

304 All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

304

Fig. 4. Forehead Tattoo. One-third natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, Longitudinal line
b, Crossbar
} Both formed by countless small incisions which are indicated by the lines.

c, Deeper and longer incisions in the crossbar.

Usually green pigment is rubbed into the tattoo.

Boys and girls are tattooed at about 12 to 14 years of age (also earlier and later) and, of course, by the "doctor" or by the "woman doctor." Special ceremonies or the like are not observed on this occasion, but the operation is performed in the bush away from the settlement. As many young people as possible come from several settlements to be tattooed, but in any case this is only for practical reasons. On this occasion
527 festivities are also held, that is, eating and dancing, but these festivities are only indirectly connected with the tattooing. Whenever several /142/ Bushmen are together, if they have

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

[293] Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

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Fig. 5. Sandals

Fig. 5a Fig. 5b

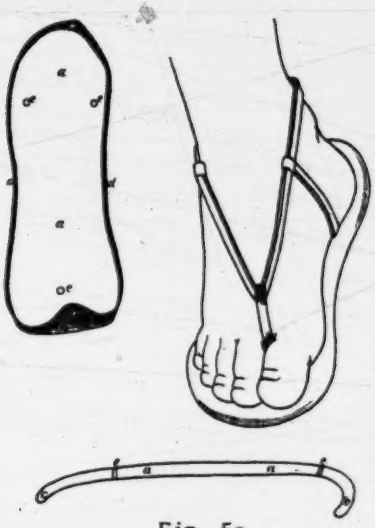


Fig. 5c

Fig. 5a. A sandal for running, viewed from below: a, flat part; b, tip bent under; c, back part bent under; d, edges bent under; e, holes for the thong fastenings.

Fig. 5b. Fastening of the sandal.

Fig. 5c. Side view of a sandal for running: a, flat part; b, tip; c, back; e, holes for the thongs.

The sandals for running are attached under the ball of the foot and in size exactly fit it. The entire sandal is bent downward in such a way that it increases the thrust of the body when the foot pushes in running. It is made of very hard gemsbok leather.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by [415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with [412] an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

> 1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting,
[526] and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

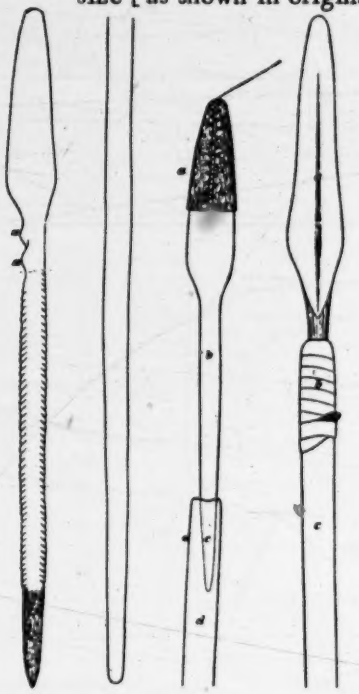


Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.

[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
463 sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411

Fig. 7. Ends of the Bow. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

Fig. 7a. End with the Bowstring Drawn Up: a, bow; b wrapping of tendons; c, string which is drawn up with a simple noose.

Fig. 7b. End with Bowstring Fastened: a, wood of the bow; b b, wrapping; b, support for the string; c, bowstring; c^1, noose which draws up tightly.

Fig. 7a

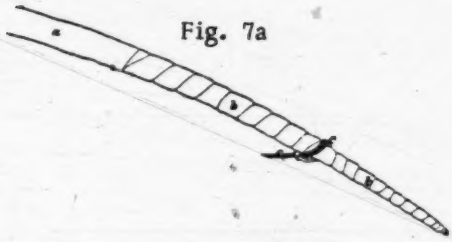


Fig. 7b

The arrowhead is a work of art carried out with the most meticulous care.

The bone arrowhead is supposedly made from ostrich bones. I am unable to name the tools used.

By means of the drawings in Figure 8 I have tried to give as graphic a picture as possible of the arrows and arrowheads.

Usually the arrows are carried together with the bow in a

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/145 cont./

411

Fig. 8. Arrows and Arrowheads. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

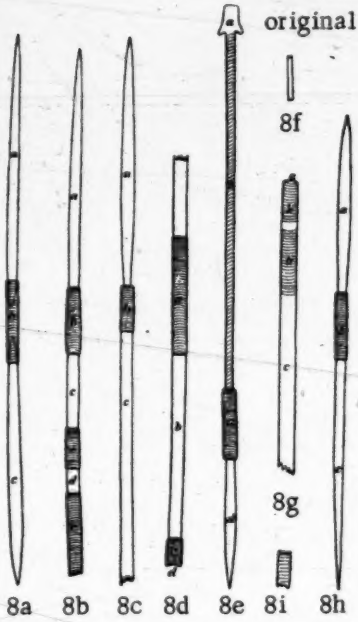


Fig. 8a shows the connection between the ends of the two points: a, bone spindle covered with a layer of poison; b, reed connection which is wrapped with a strip of grass; c, bone spindle without poison that is inserted in the shaft.

Fig. 8b. Upper end of an arrow shaft with poisoned point inserted: a, poisoned point; b, unwrapped reed connecting piece; c, bone spindle to be inserted; d, arrow shaft; e e, wrappings for the shaft (grass).

Fig. 8c. Arrow with bone point inserted: a, bone spindle; b, wrapping of the upper shaft; c, shaft.

Fig. 8d. Lower end of an arrow: a, wrapping; b, shaft; c, wraping; d, notch.

Fig. 8e. Poison arrow with iron point: a, sharp point with barbs (unpoisoned); b, iron part wrapped with strips of grass (presumably the poison does not stick to the iron); c, connecting reed; d, bone spindle to be inserted.

Fig. 8f. Strip of grass for wrapping.

Fig. 8g. Upper end of an arrow shaft: a, opening; b b, wrapping; c, reed.

Fig. 8h. Bone point: a, spindle to be inserted; b, connecting piece; c, poisoned point.

Fig. 8i. Notched end of an arrow.

/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

[223] Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) [177] which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

[223] The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41. The arrowheads of the Auin are generally 411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end 411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded 304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on 521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578

[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur- 757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman
222 burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a
311 burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

- Tschamma
- Spiny tschamma
- Ontjes of the Boers
- Water tubers
- So-called "wild potatoes"

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "land-
[685] owner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

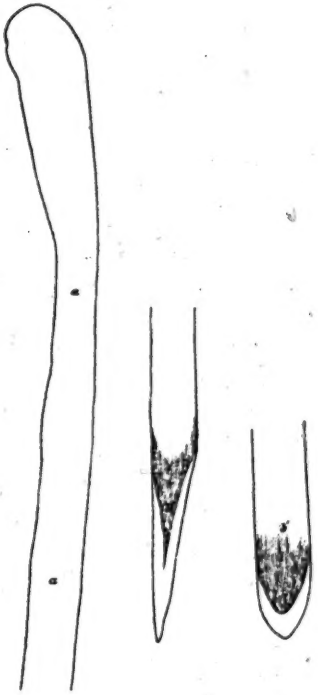
628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads-to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

412

Fig. 9. Digging Stick. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



[276] a, stick; b, point for digging; b^1, the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 10. Tobacco Pipe (cross-section). One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

/148 cont./

628 684 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 [439] Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

324 The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar 276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac- [531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

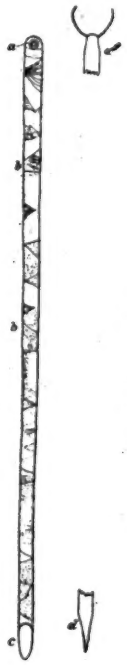
The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from [439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger, [648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531 Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size [as shown in the original].



An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249 The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/149 cont./

249 [177] [273] The Auin have copied this procedure from the Bergdamara of Oas.

The process of fermentation is unknown.

[i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players
524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.
535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.
[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men
481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur
[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[!] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[!] [i.e., of stick throwing.--Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

535 The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

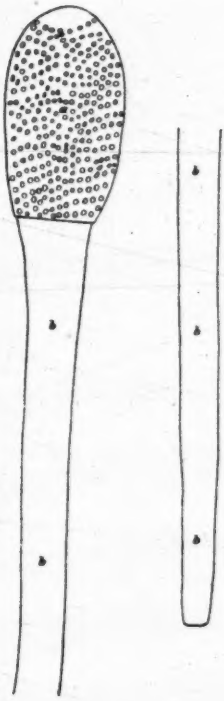
[372] Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



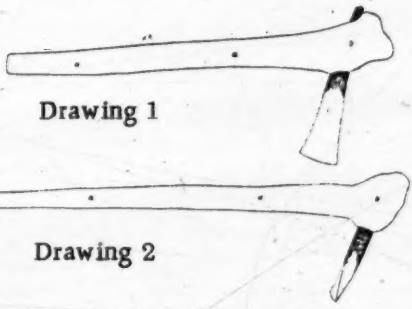
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/153 cont./

325 [237] A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire. A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

622 Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

619 /155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending on the circumstances.

631 The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so
628 many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between members of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

628 The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

648 Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
[123] Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

674 It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

422 Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an object of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

423 The land of the horde is communal property, as are the game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war
727 are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
684 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

553 A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grandmother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

145 Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of [535] another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are [884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of [304] manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

/158 cont./

845 847 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

764 [766] A distinction is made between people who have died "well," that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

764 In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

761 People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

766 If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

765 The women of the settlement participate in the widow's lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 [789] The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their [775] [769] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bushmen have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

753 Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

755 The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

776 The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

756 The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

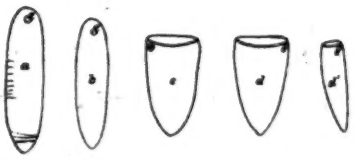
Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

/159 cont./

787 Fig. 14. Prophecy Wood. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



a, b, c, d, bits of wood of a set; d^1, side view of d; e e, holes for a string.

The prophecy wood consists of a set of four variously shaped bits of wood. These are thrown like our dice and the future can be predicted from their position, for example, whether hunting will be successful, or whether there will be a war.

An Auin maintained that from the prophecy wood he saw "an ox-wagon with two Whites approaching the settlement."

[791] The wood appears to belong to a dwindling group of persons who, like the "doctors," are cleverer than most people.

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

[648] I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

755 A man who was suffering from headache had colored his forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history." Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings. At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

/160 cont./

Conclusion

000 Should anyone intend to study the Auin more closely, he is urged to do so very soon.

In the near future the Auin will pay tribute to advancing civilization by surrendering their distinctive characteristics, or, what is even more probable according to what happened during the last occurrence of malaria, they will die out.

Auen

142
291
516
[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5

Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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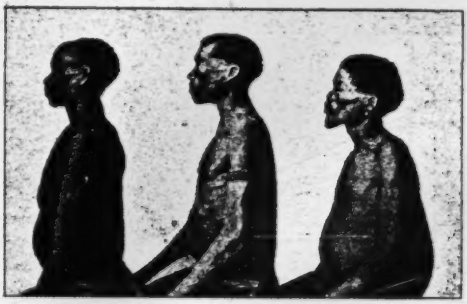
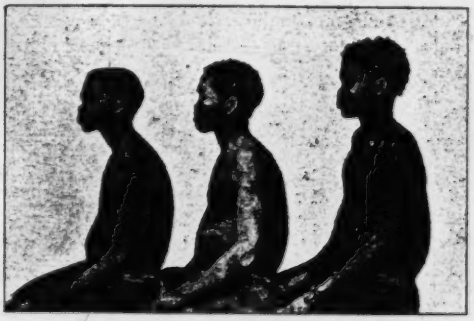
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

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[301]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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301

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

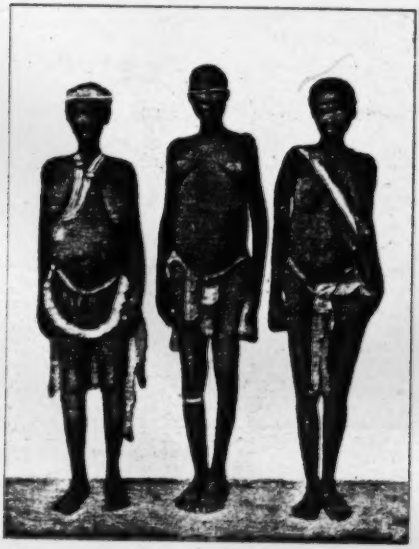
Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)



2:Kaufmann--64 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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Photo. 13
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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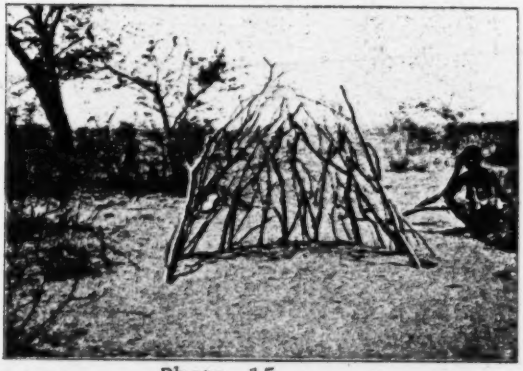

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

142

Auen

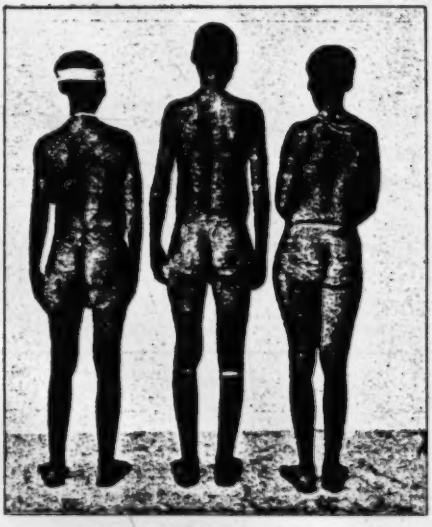

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

342

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415]
[516]

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

372

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

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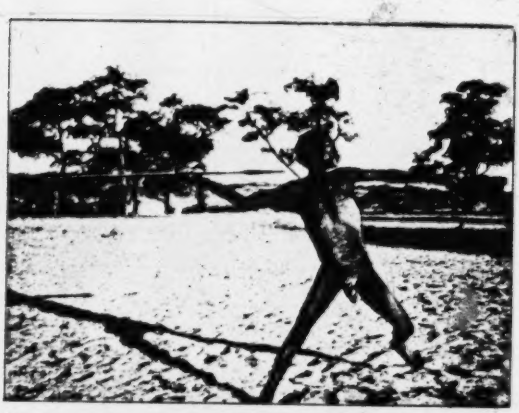
714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.



2: Kaufmann--67 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

301

Auen

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

222
412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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411
412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

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411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

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301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

411

Auen

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

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Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

2: Kaufmann--71 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

411

Auen

Photo. 30.

Photo. 32.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

526

Photo. 34.
Wrestling.

2:Kaufmann--72 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

526

Auen

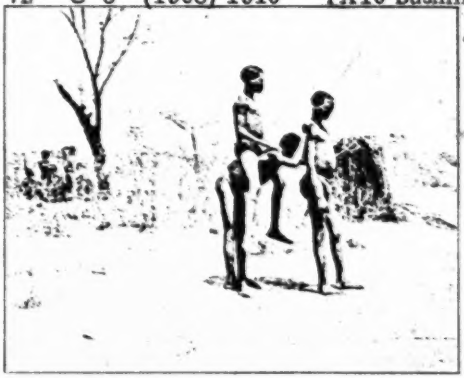

Photo. 35.
Riding.

524
535

Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

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535

Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

524
535

Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

534
516

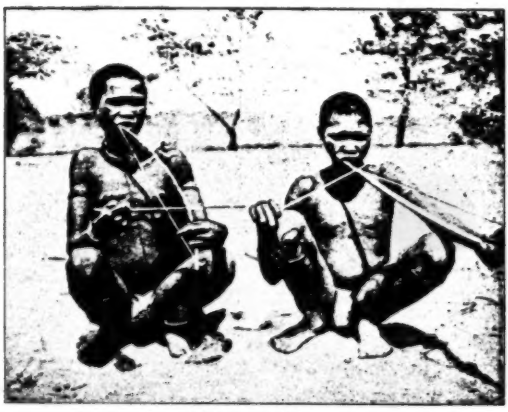

Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

535

Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

Auen

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726

Photo. 41.
War Dance.

Photo. 42.
War Dance.

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516
584

Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

142
576
516

Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.